

## Message Text

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SUBJECT:US PRESS COVERAGE OF SFRC HEARING MAY 3

1. FOLLOWING TWO ARTICLES APPEARED MAY 4 ON PAGE ONE OF  
RESPECTIVE NEWSPAPERS; WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE BY JOHN M.  
GOSHKO "DRIVE TO REPEAL TURK ARMS CURB CLEARS 1ST HURDLE"  
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AND NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY BERNARD GWERTZMAN "PLAN TO  
END ARMS BAN ON TURKEY PASSES A HOUSE TEST BY ONE VOTE."

POST - QTE: PRESIDENT CARTER'S DRIVE TO WIN CONGRESSIONAL  
REPEAL OF THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY NARROWLY  
CLEARED ITS FIRST HURDLE YESTERDAY WHEN THE HOUSE INTERNA-  
TIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE BACKED THE REQUEST, 18 TO 17.

THAT CLEARED THE WAY FOR THE HOUSE TO ACT ON THE ADMINIS-  
TRATION'S CONTENTION THAT THE THREE-YEAR-OLD EMBARGO SHOULD

BE DROPPED BECAUSE IT HAS FAILED TO FORCE TURKISH WITHDRAWAL FROM CYPRUS AND THREATENS TO DISRUPT THE NATO ALLIANCE.

BUT, AS YESTERDAY'S ONE-VOTE-MARGIN VICTORY MADE CLEAR, THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST STILL FACES A ROUGH PASSAGE THROUGH THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. IN FACT, IF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE HAD DELAYED ITS VOTE BY 10 MINUTES, THE RESULT WOULD HAVE BEEN AN ALMOST IRRETRIEVABLE DEFEAT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION.

WHAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE WAS THE FAILURE OF REP. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON (D-MASS.) TO ARRIVE IN TIME TO VOTE. HARRINGTON, WHO REPRESENTS A DISTRICT WITH A LARGE GREEK-AMERICAN POPULATION AND WHO IS BEING CHALLENGED BY A GREEK-AMERICAN IN THIS YEAR'S CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARIES, INTENDED TO VOTE AGAINST LIFTING THE EMBARGO.

HOWEVER, BECAUSE HIS PLANE FROM BOSTON WAS DELAYED, HE DIDN'T GET TO THE MEETING UNTIL MINUTES AFTER THE VOTE HAD BEEN COUNTED AND ANNOUNCED. THAT SPARED THE ADMINISTRATION AN 18-TO-18 TIE--A TALLY INSUFFICIENT TO MOVE THE REPEAL UNCLASSIFIED

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REQUEST OUT OF COMMITTEE.

THE COMMITTEE WROTE THE EMBARGO REPEAL INTO THE FISCAL 1979 MILITARY AID BILL, WHICH IT THEN APPROVED BY VOICE VOTE. CHAIRMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI (D-WIS.) SAID HE EXPECTS THE AID BILL TO COME UP FOR DEBATE AND A VOTE BY THE FULL HOUSE TOWARD THE END OF MAY.

CONGRESS IMPOSED THE EMBARGO IN FEBRUARY 1975, AFTER TURKEY'S INVASION OF CYPRUS. TURKISH FORCES CONTINUE TO OCCUPY ROUGHLY 40 PERCENT OF THAT ISLAND COUNTRY, WHICH HAS AN 80 PERCENT GREEK POPULATION.

DESPITE ARGUMENTS BY U.S. MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC OFFICIALS THAT THE EMBARGO'S EFFECTS HAVE BEEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, EFFORTS TO REPEAL IT HAVE BEEN FIERCELY RESISTED BY THE GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND ITS SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS.

ALTHOUGH THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN MODIFIED TO PERMIT TURKISH ARMS PURCHASES OF UP TO DOLS 175 MILLION A YEAR, IT HAS CAUSED A STEADY DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND ANKARA. INITIALLY, TURKEY RETALIATED BY CLOSING MOST OF THE U.S. BASES THERE AND PLACING HEAVY RESTRICTIONS ON THOSE THAT REMAIN OPEN.

THE TENSIONS ESCALATED AFTER BULENT ECEVIT BECAME TURKISH PRIME MINISTER IN JANUARY. HE HAS THREATENED TO CLOSE THE

U.S. BASES PERMANENTLY AND LOOSEN OR SEVER TURKEY'S TIES TO NATO.

THAT PROMPTED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TO REVERSE ITS ORIGINAL POSITION THAT THE EMBARGO SHOULD BE RETAINED. THE ADMINISTRATION NOW ARGUES THAT REPEAL IS NECESSARY TO PROMOTE MOVEMENT TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND TO PREVENT THE UNRAVELING OF NATO DEFENSES ON THE ALLIANCE'S SOUTHEASTERN

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FLANK.

THE FINAL DEBATE BEFORE YESTERDAY'S COMMITTEE VOTE ECHOED THE NOW-FAMILIAR ARGUMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CONTROVERSY.

THOSE OPPOSING REPEAL CONTENDED THAT TURKEY HAD VIOLATED U.S. LAW BY USING AMERICAN ARMS FOR AGGRESSIVE PURPOSES AND HAD SHOWN INTRANSIGENCE BY ITS CONTINUED REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW FROM CYPRUS.

SUPPORTERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION REQUEST ARGUED THAT U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS REQUIRE CONTINUED TURKISH PARTICIPATION IN NATO, THAT TURKEY HAS MADE CLEAR IT WILL NOT NEGOTIATE ON CYPRUS WHILE THE EMBARGO REMAINS IN EFFECT AND THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE GIVEN GREATER FLEXIBILITY TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION.

IN THE COURSE OF THE DEBATE, THE COMMITTEE ADOPTED A PROPOSAL BY REP. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM (D-N.Y.) THAT APPEARED TO SWAY SOME MEMBERS INTO VOTING FOR REPEAL.

BINGHAM'S PROPOSAL ATTACHED LANGUAGE TO THE BILL DECLARING THAT SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS DISPUTE REMAINS A CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF U.S. POLICY. IT ALSO WOULD REQUIRE THE PRESIDENT TO CERTIFY THAT ANY MILITARY AID GIVEN GREECE OR TURKEY IS INTENDED ONLY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES AND TO REPORT TO CONGRESS AT 60-DAY INTERVALS ON PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

IN ADDITION TO APPROVING THE EMBARGO REPEAL, THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO CHANGES REQUESTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION IN ITS ORIGINAL FISCAL 1979 MILITARY AID REQUESTS FOR GREECE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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TURKEY.

THE REVISED REQUESTS WOULD GIVE TURKEY DOLS 175 MILLION IN ARMS CREDITS AND DOLS 50 MILLION FOR NONMILITARY, BALANCE

OF PAYMENTS SUPPORT. GREECE WOULD RECEIVE DOLS 140 MILLION IN ARMS CREDITS AND, IN ACCORDANCE WITH A PROPOSAL BY BINGHAM, DOLS 35 MILLION IN GRANTS OF ARMS AND EQUIPMENT. THE COMMITTEE ALSO VOTED TO GIVE CYPRUS DOLS 5 MILLION FOR REFUGEE ASSISTANCE.

THE REST OF THE DOLS 2.9 BILLION MILITARY AID BILL WAS PASSED BY THE COMMITTEE IN SUBSTANTIALLY THE FORM REQUESTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

IN ANOTHER ACTION YESTERDAY, THE COMMITTEE ADDED TO THE

MILITARY AID BILL THREE AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY REP. DONALD M. FRASER (D-MINN.) AND DESIGNED TO PROMOTE A STRONG U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.

ONE WOULD CHANGE THE LANGUAGE IN EXISTING LAW TO MAKE CLEAR THAT CONGRESIONAL STRICTURES ABOUT WITHHOLDING MILITARY AID FROM COUNTRIES WITH BAD HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS ARE NOT MERELY A POLICY RECOMMENDATION. IT SPECIFIES THAT THEY ARE STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS THAT MUST BE OBSERVED UNLESS THE PRESIDENT DETERMINES THAT THE AID IS IN THE U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST.

THE OTHER AMENDMENTS WOULD PLACE GREATER RESTRICTIONS ON PROVIDING U.S. MILITARY TRAINING AND SELLING EQUIPMENT TO THE POLICE FORCES OF COUNTRIES FOUND TO BE CONSISTENT VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. END QUOTE.

NYT - QTE: WASHINGTON, MAY 3 - THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE VOTED 18 TO 17 TODAY TO SUPPORT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL TO END THE THREE-YEAR-OLD UNCLASSIFIED

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ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY.

THE NARROW MARGIN ON THE FIRST TEST OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL PROPOSAL TO END THE EMBARGO WITHOUT WAITING FOR TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS WAS VIEWED BY BOTH SIDES AS INDICATING THAT IT FACED A DEEPLY DIVISIVE FIGHT ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE, AND PROBABLY IN THE SENATE, WITH THE OUTCOME TOO CLOSE TO PREDICT.

THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IS DUE TO VOTE ON THE ISSUE NEXT WEEK. FOR THE EMBARGO TO BE LIFTED, A BILL MUST BE PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

IN THE HOUSE, NOW THAT THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE HAS VOTED IN FAVOR OF ENDING THE EMBARGO, THE PRO-GREEK FORCES WILL OFFER AN AMEDEMMENT ON THE FLOOR TO REINSTATE THE BAN. IF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE ALSO VOTES TO END A BAN, A SIMILAR FIGHT IS LIKELY ON THE FLOOR OF THE

SENATE.

OPPONENTS EXPECT TO PREVAIL

AFTER TODAY'S VOTE, WHICH CAME AS THE COMMITTEE WAS COMPLETING WORK ON THE MILITARY AID BILL FOR FISCAL 1979, THE PRO-GREEK FORCES, WHICH HAVE STRONGLY OPPOSED LIFTING THE EMBARGO, ISSUED A STATEMENT SAYING THAT THE NARROWNESS OF THE VOTE LEFT THEM CONFIDENT THAT WHEN THE ISSUE COMES TO THE HOUSE FLOOR, PROBABLY LATE THIS MONTH, "WE WILL PREVAIL."

THE ISSUE HAS BECOME AN EMOTIONAL ONE FOR GREEK-AMERICANS AND MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. THE EMBARGO WAS ORDERED BY CONGRESS IN 1975 IN AN EFFORT TO FORCE TURKEY TO YIELD ON UNCLASSIFIED

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PROBLEMS CREATED BY ITS INVASION OF CYPRUS THE PREVIOUS YEAR AND ITS OCCUPATION OF ABOUT 38 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND, EVEN THOUGH ETHNIC TURKS MAKE UP ONLY ABOUT 18 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION AND ETHNIC GREEKS ABOUT 80 PERCENT.

THE EMBARGO WAS SUBSEQUENTLY MODIFIED TO ALLOW TURKEY TO RECEIVE AS MUCH AS DOLS 175 MILLION IN MILITARY CREDITS IN THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR ENDING SEPT. 30, BUT THE TURKS HAVE REFUSED TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS WHILE THE EMBARGO IS IN FORCE.

UNDER THE TERMS OF THE CURRENT LAW, THE EMBARGO CAN BE LIFTED ONLY WHEN SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. LAST MONTH, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD SEEK AN END TO THE EMBARGO BECAUSE OF CONCERN THAT TURKEY WOULD OTHERWISE REDUCE ITS TIES TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE, AND OUT OF A CONVICTION THAT PROGRESS MIGHT TAKE PLACE MORE RAPIDLY ON CYPRUS ONCE IT WAS REMOVED.

BECAUSE OF INTENSIVE LOBBYING BY GREEK AMERICANS AND OTHER SUPPORTERS OF GREECE, THE COMMITTEE VOTE TODAY WAS REGARDED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AS A SIGNIFICANT TEST OF STRENGTH. THE COMMITTEE HAD BEEN VIEWED AS DEEPLY DIVIDED ON THE ISSUE BUT SLIGHTLY INCLINED IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S FAVOR AND THAT WAS THE WAY THE VOTE WENT.

'PAINFUL DECISION' FOR MEMBER

FOR MANY CONGRESSMEN, HOWEVER, IT WAS A DIFFICULT CHOICE.

"THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST PAINFUL DECISIONS OF MY LEGISLATIVE LIFE," REPRESENTATIVE JOHN BUCHANAN, REPUBLICAN OF ALABAMA, TOLD THE COMMITTEE BEFORE VOTING TO END THE EMBARGO. "I DO REPRESENT A VERY LARGE GREEK COMMUNITY IN

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA. THEY ARE NOT THREATENING; THEY SAY  
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WE TRUST YOU AND KNOW YOU'LL DO WHAT IS RIGHT."

MR. BUCHANAN SAID THAT IN THE END HE HAD DECIDED TO GIVE  
THE ADMINISTRATION "A CHANCE" AFTER SPEAKING WITH ANOTHER  
ALABAMIAN, ADM. THOMAS H. MOORER, THE RETIRED CHAIRMAN OF  
THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, WHO BACKS THE ADMINISTRATION.

ANOTHER CONGRESSMAN WHO DECIDED AT THE LAST MOMENT TO SUP-  
PORT THE ADMINISTRATION, REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM S. BROOM-  
FIELD, REPUBLICAN OF MICHIGAN, SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN PER-

SUADED TO DO SO AFTER SPEAKING BY TELEPHONE YESTERDAY WITH  
FORMER PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD AND FORMER SECRETARY OF  
STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER.

THE KEY MEMBERS IN FAVOR OF ENDING THE EMBARGO WERE THE  
CHAIRMAN, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI OF WISCONSIN, AND REPRES-  
ENTATIVES LEE H. HAMILTON, DEMOCRAT OF INDIANA; STEPHEN J.  
SOLARZ, DEMOCRAT OF BROOKLYN, AND JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
DEMOCRAT OF THE BRONX.

THE COMMITTEE ALSO APPROVED AN AMENDMENT OF MR. BINGHAM'S  
THAT WOULD GIVE GREECE DOLS 35 MILLION MORE IN MILITARY  
GRANTS, TO GO WITH THE DOLS 140 MILLION IN MILITARY CRE-  
DITS ALREADY APPROVED.

THE PRO-GREEK FORCES COULD HAVE DEFEATED THE EFFORT TO END  
THE EMBARGO IF TWO OF THEIR SUPPORTERS, REPRESENTATIVES  
ROBERT N.C. NIX, DEMOCRAT OF PHILADELPHIA, AND MICHAEL  
HARRINGTON, DEMOCRAT OF MASSACHUSETTS, HAD APPEARED. MR.  
HARRINGTON SHOWED UP ABOUT A MINUTE AFTER THE VOTE WAS  
OVER AND WAS UPSET BECAUSE, HE SAID, HIS PLANE FROM BOSTON  
HAD BEEN LATE. A TIE VOTE WOULD HAVE KEPT THE EMBARGO IN  
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EFFECT. END QUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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